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CSCE DIGEST

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COMMISSION DELEGATION HOLDS HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW

From November 14 through November 18, a congressional delegation, led by Helsinki Commission Chairman Steny H. Hoyer and Cochairman Dennis DeConcini, participated in discussions on human rights in Moscow with Deputies of the Supreme Soviet and private Soviet citizens, including political activists, religious believers, human rights representatives, members of national minorities, and refuseniks. The delegation, which also held a day of talks on November 19 in Leningrad with local officials and activists, comprised 11 Members of Congress, including Commissioners John Porter, Bill Richardson, Don Ritter, and Chris Smith, and the Commission's three executive branch members, Assistant Secretary of Defense Ronald Lehman, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Louis Laun, and Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter.

The meetings between American and Soviet officials to discuss human rights issues were without precedent, as was the Soviet officials' willingness to participate in events also attended by private Soviet citizens. Equally unusual and perhaps most encouraging, was the constructive tone in which the Soviets solicited and received frank American evaluations of the Soviet human rights record.

The idea for the meeting came up during an October 1987 ABC News Capital-to-Capital "space-bridge" on human rights. The program, which was broadcast live in the Soviet Union and the United States, included Vadim Zagladin as one of the Soviet participants. Mr. Zagladin, who serves as Deputy Head of the Central Committee International Department, suggested to Representative Hoyer and Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, the American panelists, that the Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress should hold regular discussions on specific human rights cases and issues.

Shortly after the broadcast, the congressional leadership agreed to participate in the talks and designated the Helsinki Commission as the congressional body to interact with Soviet parliamentary representatives. After much consultation, both sides agreed to hold the first round of talks in Moscow in November 1988.

The urgency and purpose of the trip were underscored for the U.S. delegation at an informal reception, held during the first evening in Moscow, for private Soviet citizens, many of them former prisoners-of-conscience and long-term refuseniks. This lively session, attended by more than 60 private Soviet citizens, demonstrated the very real, human basis of the cases and issues which would be discussed during the subsequent official bilateral meetings. The Soviet activists and their American supporters, many of whom had long worked on the Soviets' behalf, were equally moved by this face-to-face meeting. Over 50 refuseniks, including Yuli Kosharovsky, Vladimir Kislik, Judit and Emmanuel Lurie, Igor and Inna Uspensky, and Alexander and Irina Yampolsky attended the reception, as did many others, such as dissident Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin, Ukrainian cultural and religious activists Vyacheslav Chornivil and Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk, and Baltic political activists Nijole Sadunaite, Mart Niklus, and Enn Tarto.

On day two, meetings with the delegation's host, the USSR Supreme Soviet, began with a Kremlin plenary. Vadim Zagladin, head of the Soviet delegation, set the tone by emphasizing that the USSR was going through great changes but that much remained to be done. He stressed the importance which the Soviet Union now attaches to human rights, "one precondition for *perestroika*," and stated that the Soviets were very interested in learning about the American experience in dealing with various legal questions now confronting the Soviet Union.

Chairman Hoyer acknowledged the impressive reforms undertaken by the Soviets in recent years, but added that the American side still remained concerned about many issues, including the official ban on the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the political abuse of psychiatry.

Following the plenary, the delegations divided into three working groups that focused on Soviet emigration policies and the free flow of information, proposed reform of Soviet legal and penal codes, and Soviet laws on religion. The official titles given to these three groups were, respectively: Freedom of Movement, Communication, and Information; The Individual, Community, and Law; and Freedom of Conscience, Speech, and Assembly.

Chairman Hoyer and Vasiliy Trushin, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Legislative Proposals and First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, co-chaired the working group on emigration, which addressed the issues of "poor relatives"

Commission Chairman and Co-Chairman, Steny Hoyer and Dennis DeConcini, talk with Anatoly Dobrynin, former Soviet Ambassador to Washington.

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and secrecy classifications as grounds for the denial of exit visas. Also among the Soviet participants in that working group was Rudolph Kuznetsov, head of the Office of Visas and Registration (OVIR). During the meetings, the U.S. side presented a list of over 600 human contacts cases. In an unusual gesture, the Soviet Government responded within 72 hours, by providing information on nearly one-half of the cases presented.

Cochairman Dennis DeConcini led the American participants in the working group that examined Soviet laws regarding religion. Ivan Laptev, chief editor of the main government daily newspaper, *Izvestia,* and member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council, headed the Soviet side. Discussion centered on the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, an issue the U.S. side strongly pressed. There were different reactions among Soviet officials, with the more reform-minded acknowledging that the status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church presents Moscow with a difficult historical problem. They asserted that the Soviet Government is working on it but needs more time.

Representative Don Ritter of Pennsylvania, the Commission's ranking House Republican, chaired the group on Soviet legal issues with Soviet Minister of Justice Boris Kravtsov. Kravtsov stressed the significance of the Soviet reforms and explained that their purpose was the creation of a law-based state. Outlining future Soviet legal reforms, he stated that Art. 190-1 would be abolished and that Art. 70 would be amended to apply only to violent acts. During these discussions, Representative Ritter also handed over the Commission's list of 178 political prisoners and asked for information on each individual case. The Soviet side said it would study this list carefully.

In addition to the formal working group sessions, Representative Ritter's group visited a Soviet court and the Klukovo corrective labor colony on the outskirts of Moscow; Cochairman DeConcini's group went to Zagorsk, the Russian Orthodox Church center; and Chairman Hoyer's group visited the editorial offices of *Izvestia*.

The Commission hosted luncheon roundtables for each working group that provided a dramatic setting for face-to-face encounters between Soviet officials and Soviet citizens. For most private citizens, who included many long-term refuseniks and former political and religious prisoners, it was the first time they had had the opportunity to address the powerful officials whose decisions had exerted such influence over their lives.

The U.S. delegation and Embassy officers were struck by the open and intense discussions that resulted; indeed, for many of the participants, whether American or Soviet, the luncheon roundtables were the highlight of a memorable trip. For example, the passionate exchange between Yuli Kosharovsky, at that time the longest-standing refusenik, and Rudolph Kuznetsov, made an impression on everyone present. Another striking incident took place during the legal practices working group luncheon when dissident and former political prisoner Lev Timofeev raised a toast to the quick release of all political prisoners, and *Izvestia* editor Ivan Laptev, after a moment of hesitation, said, "If you mean those who have been imprisoned unjustly, I can drink to that."

The delegation also met with the unofficial Burlatskiy Commission on International Cooperation on Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights, composed of prominent liberal members of the Soviet establishment. Burlatskiy described his Commission's activities: it calls for official investigation of specific cases or issues, it tries to shape draft legislation in more liberal directions, and it tries to influence public opinion in favor of reform. He acknowledged, however, that the Commission had no legal status, staff, budget, institutional power, and that such power as it did possess was derived from the individual and collective reputation of its members. The U.S. delegation also gave Burlatskiy the Commission's prisoners-of-conscience list, requesting further information.

A November 17 reception at Spaso House, hosted by U.S. Embassy Deputy Chief of Mission Mike Joyce, was the venue for another first: the meeting at a social event of same 200 Soviet officials and activists representing the full spectrum of human rights concerns in the Soviet Union, including Crimean Tatar activist Mustafa Dzhemilev, *samizdat* editors Aleksandr Podrabinek, Sergey Grigoryants and Lev Timofeyev, long-term refuseniks Yuli Kosharovsky and Evgeny Lein, and Lithuanian nationalist activist Viktoras Petkus. Many individuals who had attended the Monday evening meeting also came to the Spaso House reception, from the Russian Orthodox community, the Baltic Popular Front and other Baltic activists, Armenian activists, refuseniks, and Ukrainian cultural, political, and religious groups.

During the evenings in Moscow, many members of the delegation visited the private homes of refuseniks and political activists in order to get another view of Soviet life. The home of Yuli and Inna Kosharovsky was the site for an evening of discussions with Chairman Hoyer, Cochairman Dennis DeConcini and Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey. Issues discussed included the repeated official denial of the right to emigrate, the status of Jewish culture, expectations raised by the Commission's meetings with the Supreme Soviet, and the conditions under which the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be concluded. The Commissioners presented the Kosharovskys with gifts and Jewish cultural and teaching aids from representatives of Jewish communities throughout the United States.

More than a dozen representatives of the "Jewish Women Against Refusal" group met with Chairman Hoyer and Assistant

Scenes from Moscow: Rudolf Kuznetsov, head of the Soviet OVIR, makes a point to Soviet refusenik Yuli Kosharovsky during an unprecedented discussion which enabled Soviet officials to meet with Soviet refuseniks. Also pictured are Vladimir Kislik and Abe Stolar, Soviet refuseniks who, along with Kosharovsky, have since received permission to emigrate.

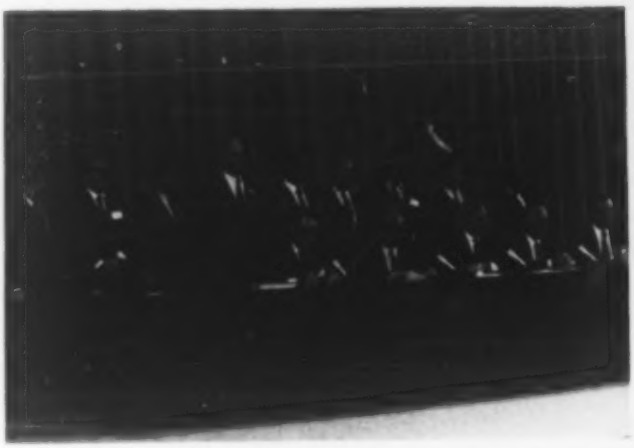
Secretary of Defense Ronald Lehman for about 2 hours at the Moscow home of Inna and Igor Uspensky to discuss continuing problems surrounding their emigration denials. Judit Lurie, Irina Lein, Victoria Khasin, Galina Lifshitz, Irina Yampolsky, Natasha Stonov, and Galina Kremen participated in the discussion.

CoChairman and Mrs. DeConcini and Representative and Mrs. John Porter visited the home of refusenik leader Yuri Cherniak where they discussed the problems of the refusenik community, in particular the Soviet practice of denying emigration visas on the grounds that the applicant possesses state secrets. Mrs. Cherniak and other members of the refusenik support group "Jewish Women for Emigration and Survival in Refusal" described to Mrs. DeConcini and Mrs. Porter the hardship that the wives and children of refuseniks are forced to endure. They illustrated that the plight of refuseniks has become a generational issue, involving grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren.

Representative Ritter met with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church, including Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk. Representative Chris Smith held discussions with Pentecostal emigration activists Vasily and Galina Barats and other Christian adherents regarding the conditions facing religious communities in the Soviet Union.

In Leningrad, Representatives Ritter, Clay Shaw, John LaFalce, and Chairman Hoyer engaged members of the opposition political group Democratic Union (DU) in a discussion of the group's aim to achieve a multi-party state. The DU members also described the Government harassment they have suffered.

Chairman Hoyer and CoChairman DeConcini held luncheon meetings with Vadim Zagladin as well as Anatoly Dobrynin, former Soviet Ambassador to the United States. Prior to the delegation's departure for Leningrad on November 18, the delegation met with First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Luk'yanov. Luk'yanov answered questions on various topics, such as Soviet plans to simplify and relax emigration procedures and the state of relations between Moscow and the non-Russian republics. He closed the meeting by emphasizing that the Soviet side wanted to make contacts between the Helsinki Commission and the Supreme Soviet a permament event.



Members of the American delegation join First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, Anatoly Lukyanov, in briefing the press on the Soviet-American meetings. Seated from left to right are: Senator Charles Grassley, Soviet Deputy Chairman Anatoly Lukyanov, Chairman Steny Hoyer, Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini, Congressman Don Ritter. Standing from left to right are: Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy Ronald Lehman, Congressman John LaFalce, Congressman Mickey Edwards, Congressman John Porter, Congressman E. Clay Shaw, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Economic Policy Louis Laun, Congressman Bill Richardson, Congressman Chris Smith, and Congressman John Lewis.

THE VIENNA CONCLUDING DOCUMENT

The Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting, which began in November 1986, concluded on January 19, after the 35 participating States adopted a concluding document covering human rights, trade, science, the environment, humanitarian cooperation, and military security. The concluding document also mandates ten specialized meetings to take place between Vienna, which was the third review meeting since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, and the next main meeting, scheduled for Helsinki in 1992. The adoption of the document also paves the way for negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, which will be held within the framework of the CSCE.

The Vienna Review Meeting had four distinct phases. Following a period of implementation review, the delegates turned to the negotiation of a concluding document which, under the rules of the conference, would require the consensus of all 35 participating States. Over 160 proposals were introduced by the participants during the course of the meeting. The early phase of the negotiation was devoted to an exhaustive discussion of each proposal under the direction of coordinators selected from the Neutral and Non-aligned (NNA) delegations. The next phase saw the introduction of informal NNA drafts and intense drafting work. The closing days of the meeting were devoted to resolving the few outstanding issues, including the selection of topics and sites for the follow-up meetings, as well as the translation of the English text into the five other offical CSCE languages.

The Vienna Concluding Document, the result of nearly 2 years of intense and at times difficult negotiations, is in many ways an elaboration of the broad commitments contained in the Final Act. From the outset of the meeting, the United States and our Western allies sought the inclusion of specific language

which would foster improved human rights performance. The East for the most part pressed for a mere repetition, if not an actual weakening, of existing commitments. By-and-large the West was successful in achieving its objective of a balanced and substantial result in Vienna.

Following is a summary of the major provisions of the document:

Basket I: Principles

The Vienna Concluding Document is the first CSCE document to contain a clear statement on the right of every individual to leave and return to one's country. It also addresses movement by individuals within their country. The language on freedom of movement underscores the exceptional nature of restrictions on this right.

The section on religious freedom covers a wider range of areas than ever before in the CSCE process. There is, for example, an explicit recognition of the right of everyone to give and receive religious education on an individual or collective basis. Another paragraph sets out the rights of individual believers and communities to acquire, possess, and use sacred books and other religious materials in the language of their choice. Religious faiths, institutions and organizations are to be allowed to produce, import, and distribute such material. Other provisions cover the selection and training of clergy; solicitation of contributions and; maintenance of places of worship.

The document also addresses the subject of human rights monitoring, committing the participating States to respect the right of persons to observe and promote the implementation of CSCE provisions and to associate with others for this purpose. A related provision allows citizens to contribute actively to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Such activities may be undertaken individually or in association with others.

Finally, there are concrete commitments to combat terrorism, including provisions on bilateral and multilateral cooperation as well as extradition and prosecution of those engaged in terrorist acts.

Basket I: Military Security

The military security portion of the Vienna Concluding Document provides for the continuation of negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) in accordance with the Madrid mandate. These measures include advance notice of military maneuvers as well as observation and on-sight inspection of such activities. It is envisioned that these talks, scheduled to be open in Vienna in early March, will build upon and expand the results achieved during the Stockholm Conference. The talks will involve the 35 CSCE participating States.

The document also includes a mandate for the autonomous Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). This new negotiation, which will also be held in Vienna, will be conducted within the framework of the CSCE process and involve the 23-member states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Unlike the earlier Mutual Balanced Force Negotiations (MBFR) which focused on forces in Central Europe, the new talks will cover the land within the territory of the participants in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Periodic meetings will be held between the 23 participants and other CSCE states in order to exchange views and information on the course of the negotiations.

Basket II

A striking feature of the Basket II text is its focus on humanitarian concerns. It contains language on the human rights and fundamental freedoms of scientists while the section on trade and industrial cooperation stresses the importance of contacts among businesspeople. There is also an acknowledgement of the contribution of persons and organizations dedicated to the protection and improvement of the environment. Also of note are provisions to allow tourists to have contact with the local population and to permit private citizens to set up small-scale private accommodations for tourists. Other provisions address the need for a freer flow of information in the areas of business, science, and the environment, as well as ways to solve the problems caused by countertrade.

Specific commitments in the section on the environment call for greater efforts to protect the ozone layer and to reduce emissions of transboundary pollutants. The section on science and technology contains commitments to increase cooperation among the participating States in combating the spread of AIDS and ensuring the safety of nuclear facilities.

Basket III

The human contacts section of the document contains extensive language on freedom of movement. The opening paragraph on human contacts states that " . . . everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country . . . ." In an attempt to clear the backlog of outstanding human contacts cases, the participating States have undertaken a commitment to find solutions to such cases within 6 months of the conclusion of the Vienna Meeting.

Several paragraphs contain specific timeframes for the processing of applications for travel abroad. For example, applications for family visits are to be processed dealt within 1 month in normal practice. While those involving family reunification or marriage between citizens of different states are to be decided upon within 3 months in normal practice. Applications for urgent humanitarian travel, such as those submitted by individuals in need of medical treatment, are to be processed within 3 working days.

The language on freedom of movement makes clear that exceptions to this right, such as national security, are to be exceptions and not, as has often been the case in practice, the rule. The Vienna Document includes specific language addressing the secrecy issue. From now on, individuals are to be informed of the consequences of classified work before they take up such duties. In addition, the period for the secrecy exception is to be as short as possible, within strictly warranted time limits, and not applied in an arbitrary manner. Furthermore, the authorities are to take into account the time which has elapsed since the applicant last had access to secrets.

In instances when an individual application is denied, the state is obliged to provide the applicant with a written reply outlining the grounds on which the denial was based. The applicant is also entitled to information concerning administrative and judicial remedies against such decisions.

The concerns of members of national minorities are dealt with more extensively in the Vienna Concluding Document than in any previous CSCE document. These include human contacts, information, culture, and education.

Another provision provides for direct personal contacts among believers both on a group and individual basis. The text also recognizes the right of believers to acquire, receive and carry religious publications and objects.

The information subchapter includes anti-jamming language calling for the direct and normal reception of foreign broadcasts. In the area of communications, the states are committed to ensuring the rapid and unhindered delivery of correspondence, including personal mail and parcels. There is also language providing for uninterrupted telephone calls.

Another section deals with the working conditions for journalists, covering such issues as travel, accreditation, and access to sources. There is also a prohibition against expelling a journalist because of the content of his reporting.

Follow-up Activities

The Vienna Concluding Document mandates a wide array of follow-up activities on human rights in the interim between the conclusion of the Vienna Review Meeting and the opening of the Helsinki Review Meeting in March 1992.

The cornerstone of the human rights follow-up activities is the Conference on the Human Dimension (CDH), with meetings scheduled to take place in Paris (1989), Copenhagen (1990), and Moscow (1991). The CDH is a multifaceted framework for the discussion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, human contacts and other humanitarian issues. The conference will, through bilateral and multilateral mechanisms, address specific human rights concerns and cases.

In addition to the CDH and military security talks, there will be an Information Forum, in London (1989); a Meeting on the Protection of the Environment, in Sofia (1989); a Conference on Economic Cooperation, in Bonn (1990); a Meeting on the Mediterranean, in Mallorca (1990); a Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, in Valetta (1991) and; a Symposium on Cultural Heritage, in Krakow (1991).

A unique element in the Vienna Document is the inclusion of a section devoted to openness and access at CSCE meetings. Using the practices applied during the Vienna Meeting as a point of departure, the text addresses the question of access to the host state and the meeting site by representatives of non-governmental organizations, religious groups, the media, and private individuals, both from the host and other states. This section also provides for the holding of peaceful gatherings by these individuals and ensures the right of journalists to engage in their professional activities

WORLD ENTERING PERIOD OF GREAT PROMISE, SHULTZ SAYS

The following is Secretary of State George Shultz's January 17, 1989 speech delivered during the closing plenary of the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Meeting:

Today, the Vienna conference is added to the series of meetings that began with Helsinki. At Helsinki, our governments first pledged to honor commitments to each other and towards our peoples -- commitments aimed at creating an ever more free, prosperous and secure Europe.

Fortunately for us all, our citizens -- through times of tension, discord, and disappointment -- have held fast to the brighter vision of the future promised in Helsinki. And by doing so, they have turned that promise into a positive force for change. This process has helped to shape Europe's future.

The document that we have adopted here in Vienna gives the most complete expression to date of the principles set forth in Helsinki. It adds a new dimension to what President Reagan called in his speech in Finlandia Hall last spring "a map through the wilderness of mutual hostility."

Yet, there is still a great distance to go. CSCE can succeed only if we deal with the realities that have brought us to Helsinki and Belgrade and Madrid and Vienna.

We are still living with the legacy of the Cold War. It was no mirage. It was the product of attempts to impose political systems on the peoples of Eastern Europe by force: to close borders, to close economies, to restrict the flow of information, to deny freedom of choice.

The results of these policies are still with us: the social and political division of Europe, the militarization of East-West relations, the pursuit of two dramatically different kinds of political and social organization -- one in which the citizen is dominated by the state, the other in which the citizen defines and guides state power.

Yet, the world is entering a period of great promise, one in which we can lessen the dangers of war through an end to expansionism and by processes of arms reduction and control; one of opportunity for those countries prepared to support and expand an open international economic system; one in which international cooperation is essential to tackle common threats, such as the spread of chemical weapons, terrorism and narcotics trafficking.

And most important, we are entering a period in which respect for human rights is gaining ground -- in which it is becoming clear to all that the preeminence of the individual and respect for his fundamental freedoms are the hallmarks of successful societies.

Vienna's Legacy of Openness

The way forward in East-West relations is through deeds not words, performance not promises. That is why from the outset the United States has stressed in CSCE the central importance of implementation.

And if implementation is at the heart of the whole Helsinki process, then openness is its lifeblood.

The European continent, across its length and breadth, is much more open today than it was when we first assembled in Vienna in November, 1986.

In the two years of the Vienna meeting, the picture in the Soviet Union and some countries of Eastern Europe has brightened in significant respects. But dark areas remain where the light of openness has yet to reach.

-- The jamming of radio broadcasts has stopped. Now all of our citizens can hear competing views and decide for themselves what is the truth. Our concluding document commits all to the continued openness of the airwaves. Why not now go further and dismantle all existing jamming devices?

-- In the Soviet Union, the prison gates have opened for more than 600 prisoners of conscience, including the remaining Helsinki monitors; minorities, dissidents and religious believers are freer to assert their rights and in some cases are gaining ground. Yet others continue to suffer repression or remain unjustly imprisoned for acting upon their rights. We cannot forget them.

-- There is new openness in the greater freedom of expression and assembly in countries where these basic rights have been denied. We hope to see more. Yet, we regret the timidity of the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia in not taking similar steps.

-- Only Sunday (January 15, 1989), not one hour after the adoption of the Vienna Concluding Document, and in direct violation of the commitments just solemnly given by the government of Czechoslovakia -- riot police trained rubber truncheons, tear gas and water cannon on participants in peaceful demonstrations in Prague. Reportedly, 91 demonstrators were detained.

And the same day -- the day the Vienna Concluding Document was adopted -- we are told that the authorities of the German Democratic Republic detained 190 human rights activists demonstrating in Leipzig. As in Prague, most appear to have been released. But late last night (January 16, 1989) some remained in custody -- in glaring contradiction to the solemn international commitment being made at almost the same hour.

-- In Romania, the economic and social conditions as well as the political and civil rights of all citizens are being eroded at a discouraging rate. And in both Romania and Bulgaria, minorities have been particularly hard hit by government policies of recent years.

-- There is greater openness in the freer movement of peoples. Last year more than seven million East Germans visited the German Democratic Republic -- record numbers in both directions. Moreover last year, according to the information we now have, approximately 77,000 people emigrated from the Soviet Union, and many more -- including Andrei Sakharov -- were allowed to visit abroad. Yet, we still look for full recognition of the right to freedom of movement throughout the Eastern signatory States.

-- Full implementation of the commitments we have made to guarantee the right of everyone "to leave his country" will lead to a more open Europe in the years ahead. We have agreed here to reasonable time limits on decisions on applications for foreign travel. And the signatory States have agreed to reduce the frequency and capriciousness of refusing travel on security grounds.

-- We expect greater openness to be encouraged by implementation of the Vienna commitments regarding the "rapid and unhindered" delivery of mail as well as those concerning respect for the privacy and integrity of postal and telephone communications.

-- And, the openness of the Vienna meeting itself -- a tribute to our Austrian hosts as well as to the CSCE process -- has been set as the precedent for the conduct of future meetings. The Vienna document commits all host countries -- France, Denmark, the Soviet Union, Malta, Poland, the United Kingdom, Spain, Bulgaria, Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland -- to provide access for foreign journalists, nongovernmental organizations, and individuals; and to allow their own citizens unimpeded contacts with delegates and visitors.

In sum, the steadfast call for compliance and openness that we sounded so clearly and strongly here in Vienna has accelerated and consolidated changes for the better -- changes that will tangibly affect the daily lives of millions of people -- their hopes, their rights, their future. The Vienna Concluding Document, which each of our governments has committed itself to publish in its entirety, can be an engine for continuing change, as indeed was the Helsinki Final Act.

A Beginning, Not An End

Thus, the Vienna meeting marks not the end of our journey from Helsinki, but a new beginning. The great American poet Robert Frost could just as well have been describing the scenery around Vienna as his native New England:

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep, but we have promises to keep, and miles to go before we sleep, and miles to go before we sleep."

We have a long way to go to achieve real peace in Europe -- a lasting peace based on the rights of man, the rule of law and the integrity of free and self-determining states. It is a challenge to us to go that distance. What we have done here in Vienna shows that we want and intend to meet that challenge.

The comprehensive human rights agenda recognized at Vienna is a major aspect of our new beginning.

Vienna marks another new beginning as well -- the beginning of major conventional arms control negotiations. In a few weeks the 35-nation follow-on negotiation on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures will extend the work of the Stockholm conference, which pioneered the concept of openness in the military sphere.

Also, 23 of our States will launch an autonomous negotiation in the framework of the CSCE process aimed at achieving stability in conventional armed forces in Europe.

Between Vienna and Helsinki in 1992 there will be a number of meetings which can illuminate areas of East-West cooperation -- or continuing difficulty: information, economics, the environment, the Mediterranean, culture, peaceful settlement of disputes, and -- most important -- human rights. The Vienna meeting has created a mechanism permitting any country to raise any human rights issue with any other country at any time. This mechanism, coupled with the Paris, Copenhagen and Moscow meetings, will give us a continuous process of human rights review.

Moreover, the Helsinki process will continue to play an important part in reflecting and shaping the European condition. Individual initiative, ingenuity, and the free flow of information, ideas and people are the qualities that best equip nations to meet the challenges and opportunities of the future. The success of the Helsinki process will be measured by how well those ideals are woven into the fabric of international life.

We are already witnessing movement in the right direction. Today, we find broader acceptance of the proposition that in our increasingly interdependent world, national security cannot be fully measured or even really achieved through military means alone. Military might can secure a kind of peace, but it is peace without security if it comes at the terrible expense of international tension and great cost to national growth. Only weeks ago, we heard General Secretary Gorbachev say at the United Nations that "one-sided reliance on military power ultimately weakens other components of national security."

Moreover, the realization has increasingly dawned that the freeing of market forces and human creativity is the real basis for sustained prosperity and national success. Our own confidence in the vitality of free societies and open markets is strong and firmly based on our own experience and our observation of others.

The Continuing Challenge of Implementation

I came to Europe for the first time as secretary of state more than six years ago. I came as a friend of Europe, a believer in the greatness of Europe. I will go home to California after this, my final official visit, more convinced than ever of that view.

Sons and daughters of Europe founded my country and built a society on ideas derived from Locke, Montesquieu and Rousseau. In fact, America has never been far from Europe and never closer than we are today. History, language, and traditions form a common strand -- a strand that links every country here to all the rest. But, above all, it is the power of the democratic ideas -- ideas which reverberated on both sides of the Atlantic 200 years ago and turned the world upside down -- that continue to unite our peoples and give direction to Europe's destiny.

When I addressed the opening session of this meeting in 1986, I looked ahead to the day when all the peoples in the CSCE community would share in a spirit of openness and creativity -- the day when we all could participate in a release of intellectual and social energy. Through the work of this meeting, I believe that we have come closer to the day I described -- not through the mere passage of time, but because we have narrowed the distance between promise and performance, word and deed. But a great distance still remains to be bridged.

I would recall again for you the famous words of Pushkin, who wrote that in 1703 Peter the Great "broke a window through to Europe." This image fits the work of Vienna. The Helsinki process has helped to open windows and doors of understanding, and helpful lines of communication; and, for many men and women, it has helped to open the gates of freedom. We must keep this process of openness going in both directions. We know that many more barriers between East and West have yet to be broken through -- whether they be physical barriers like the Berlin Wall, inflexible economic systems, daunting bureaucratic impediments to freedom of movement and expression, or rigid habits of thinking.

May I leave you with a personal thought about CSCE? During my tenure as secretary of state, I have come to these meetings and have met with colleagues on their periphery. And wherever else I have gone -- to the United Nations or elsewhere in the world, not just Europe -- I have rubbed elbows with people who in one way or another, are involved and interested in this process. Those with whom I have met did not always share my country's views on the issues of the day; often, absent the tie with CSCE, there would have been no occasion for us to meet in the first place. Nor would there have been much common ground on which to base a discussion. Yet, CSCE provided that first link that eased the conversation along.

This certainly was the case when Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and I met for the first time. As you may remember, we got acquainted during the Helsinki 10th anniversary commemoration. My wife and I decided we must get to know the Shevardnadzes as human beings, whatever our political differences might be.

They must have taken the same view. We have done so and each have met the other's children and grandchildren -- in other words, our common future. This human contact is in many respects the very essence of the CSCE process. So, CSCE helped us to get the ball rolling and get down to constructive work. Since that day, we haven't always agreed, but we have always engaged. I am sure that all of you here have had similar experiences. And, I believe that the opportunities CSCE offers for that unique kind of human contact is another important reason why this process is so useful.

During the course of the Vienna meeting, the people and government of Austria have given us all many reasons to feel welcome. Their hospitality has afforded us many opportunities to work together and get to know one another in an atmosphere of special warmth. On behalf of the American people and President Reagan, I wish to thank the people and government of Austria most sincerely.

Now, as we face the new challenges we have set for ourselves in Vienna, my government is in a period of democratic transition and renewal. Yet, I can assure you all here today that President-elect Bush, his government and the American people will be playing an active and constructive role in this process in the years ahead.

As we have from the beginning, the United States will continue to work for the day when at last that great objective of the Helsinki process is realized -- the day when Europe is free, secure, open and whole.

Meetings Mandated by the Vienna CSCE Follow-up Meeting

1989		
Vienna	March 6 - no specified end date	Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures
London	April 18 - May 12	Information Forum
Paris	May 30 - June 23	Meeting on the Conference on the Human Dimension
Sofia	October 16 - November 3	Meeting on the Protection of the Environment
1990		
Bonn	March 19 - April 11	Economic Conference
Copenhagen	June 5 - June 29	Meeting on the Conference on the Human Dimension
Palma de Mallorca	September 24 - October 19	Meeting on the Mediterranean
1991		
Valletta	January 15 - February 8	Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes
Krakow	May 28 - June 7	Symposium on Cultural Heritage
Moscow	September 10 - October 4	Meeting on the Conference on the Human Dimension
1992		
Helsinki	March 10 (two weeks)	Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting
Helsinki	March 24 - (no specified end date)	Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting

Meetings To Be Held Within the Framework of the CSCE Process

1989		
Vienna	March 6 - (no specified end date)	Negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)

Individuals or groups seeking more information on the Information Forum (April 18 - May 12) should contact Commission staff member Ron McNamara, while those interested in the Paris Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (May 30 - June 23) should contact Commission staff member Orest Deychak. Both of them can be reached at: (202) 225-1901.

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